

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
USIA-06 TRSE-00 /059 W
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R 011600Z SEP 77
FM AMEMBASSY ROME
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6885
INFO AMCONSUL FLORENCE
AMCONSUL GENOA
AMCONSUL MILAN
AMCONSUL NAPLES
AMCONSUL PALERMO
AMCONSUL TRIESTE POUCH
AMCONSUL TURIN POUCK
AMEMBASSY PARIS
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E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PINT, IT
SUBJECT: DC SHARPENS ANTI-PCI LINE AS SUMMER POLITICAL LULL ENDS

SUMMARY: THE SUMMER LULL IN POLITICAL ACTIVITY ENDED
ABRUPTLY THIS WEEK WITH AN UNEXPECTEDLY HARSH EXCHANGE
BETWEEN THE DC AND THE PCI. DC DEPUTY SECRETARY GALLONI'S
BITING ATTACK SEEMS TO HAVE STUNNED THE PCI, ALL THE MORE
SO SINCE THE DC-LEFT LEADER WAS INTIMATELY ASSOCIATED
WITH THE DRAFTING OF THE PROGRAM ACCORD. CRITICIZING THE
PCI'S MEDIUM-TERM PLAN IN UNUSUALLY STRONG LANGUAGE FOR
ITS "CONTRADICTIONS" AND "TOGLIATTI-STYLE DUPLICITY,"
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GALLONI WARNED THE DC NOT TO TRUST THE PCI'S BASIC SOMMITMENT
TO DEMOCRACY. THE PCI RETORTED THAT SOLUTIONS FOR "REAL
PROBLEMS HERE AND NOW" WERE WHAT REALLY MATTERED,
AND NOT " ABSTRACT IDEOLOGICAL CONCEPTS." THE PCI,
L'UNITA EDITOR REICHLIN SAID, HAS NO "IDOLOGICAL
PRECONCEPTIONS." ALTHOUGH DC LEADERS CONTINUE TO SUPPORT
THE PROGRAM ACCORD, GALLONI'S ATTACK SEEMS TO SIGNAL

A MORE POLEMICAL AND COMBATIVE DC ATTITUDE IN PREPARATION FOR THIS NOVEMBER'S IMPORTANT ADMINISTRATIVE ELECTIONS. THE DC'S UNCOMPROMISING LINE WILL NOT MAKE IT EASIER FOR THE PCI TO CONVINCE ITS BASE OR ELECTORATE THAT THE PROGRAM ACCORD DOES INDEED CONSTITUTE A "FIRST STEP" TOWARD FULL PCI PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENT. END SUMMARY.

1. THE DC AND THE PCI ENGAGED IN A LIVELY SPATE OF IDEOLOGICAL SPARRING THIS WEEK THAT BROUGHT THE SUMMER LULL IN POLITICAL ACTIVITY TO AN END. THE DC SEIZED THE POLITICAL INITIATIVE IN THE FORM OF A STRONG ATTACK ON THE PCI'S MUCH-TOUTED "MIDDLE-TERM PLAN" WHICH CALLED INTO QUESTION THE SINCERITY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY'S BASIC COMMITMENT TO DEMOCRATIC PLURALISM. BOTH THE SUDDENNESS AND THE SHARPNESS OF THE ATTACK SURPRISED OBSERVERS AND SEEMS TO HAVE CAUGHT THE PCI OFF GUARD. TO THE PCI, THE ATTACK WAS ALL THE MORE DISCONCERTING SINCE IT CAME FROM DEPUTY SECRETARY GALLONI, THE DC LEADER WHO AUTHORED THE BASIC DRAFT OF THE PROGRAM ACCORD, AND NOT FROM DC HARLINERS WHO COULD BE EASILY DISMISSED FOR KNEE-JERK ANTI-COMMUNISM.

2. WRITING FOR THE DC JOURNAL, GALLONI DEFENDED THE PROGRAM ACCORD AS NOT ONLY "NECESSARY" IN AN EMERGENCY SITUATION, BUT ALSO FULLY CONSISTENT WITH THE DC'S BASIC STRATEGY OF ENGAGING THE PCI IN A CONSTRUCTIVE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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DIALOGUE. IN THE PROCESS, THE PCI'S BASIC CONTRADICTIONS (AS A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY WITH A SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM) HAD TO BE CONSTANTLY EXPOSED, MADE "TO EMERGE AND EXPLODE." GALLONI WARNED THAT THE DIALOGUE (AND THE PROGRAM ACCORD) MUST NOT BE CONSTRUED AS PERMITTING "POLITICALLY CONFUSING ATTEMPTS IN THE REGIONS, PROVINCES AND COMMUNES" (IE. LOCAL POLITICAL ACCORDS WITH THE PCI).

3. CONSISTENT WITH THIS STRATEGY, GALLONI THEN PROCEEDED TO ATTACK THE PCI'S "MIDDLE-TERM PLAN" FOR ITS "CONTRADICTIONS," "AMBIGUITIES," AND "PERSISTENT, TOGLIATTI-STYLE FUNDAMENTAL DUPLICITY." HOW CAN A JUDGMENT BE MADE ON THE PCI'S MODERATE MEDIUM-TERM PLAN, GALLONI ASKED, WITHOUT KNOWING THE PCI'S LONG-TERM PLAN FOR SOCIETY? AS LONG AS THE PCI IS COMMITTED TO AN EVENTUAL, CLASSICAL SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION OF SOCIETY, HOW CAN THE PCI'S DEFENSE OF MARKET ECONOMY IN THE MEDIUM-TERM PLAN BE REGARDED AS ANYTHING BUT A TACTIC TO ACHIEVE THE NECESSARY POLITICAL CONSENSUS FOR A UNITY GOVERNMENT OF ALL POLITICAL FORCES? " WHAT GUARANTEES DOES THE PCI GIVE THAT THE PLAN

IS NOT PURELY TACTICAL?" THE BOTTOM LINE OF GALLONI'S ANALYSIS IS THAT THE PCI DOES NOT YET PROVIDE SUFFICIENT DEMOCRATIC GUARANTEES, AND THAT "IT WOULD BE A GRAVE MISTAKE TO PERFORM ANY ACTION REVEALING WEAKNESS OR READINESS TO TAKE STEPS ALONG THE ROAD OF THE HISTORIC COMPROMISE."

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4. THE PCI'S REACTION WAS SWIFT AND ANGRY. IN A LENGTHY REBUTTAL ON AUGUST 30, L'UNITA EDITOR REICHLIN EXPRESSED "SURPRISE" AT THE COARSENESS OF GALLONI'S ATTACK WHICH HE ATTRIBUTED TO THE NEED TO APPEASE THE DC'S RIGHT WING. URGING THE DC NOT TO INDULGE IN CHEAP PROPAGANDA, REICHLIN SAID THE PCI SHOULD BE JUDGED ON ITS ATTITUDE TO "REAL PROBLEMS HERE AND NOW" AND NOT ON "ABSTRACT IDEOLOGICAL CONCEPTS." THE PCI, REICHLIN ASSERTED, SEEKS TO RESOLVE THE GREAT PROBLEMS OF THE COUNTRY BY PLACING ITSELF AT THE SERVICE OF THE PEOPLE "WITHOUT IDEOLOGICAL PRE-

CONCEPTIONS." IN AN INTERVIEW IN THE WEEKLY, IL
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MONDO, PCI DIRECTORATE MEMBER MACALUSO ALSO DEVELOPED THE
SAME THEME. "TODAY'S PROBLEM, " MACALUSO SAID, "IS NOT
TO DISCUSS WHAT SOCIALIST SOCIETY IN THE FUTURE WILL
BE LIKE, BUT TO RESPOND TO THE BIG UNANSWERED QUESTIONS
THAT MUST BE RESOLVED IN THE ECONOMY, SOCIETY AND THE
STATE TO GET THE COUNTRY OUT OF THE PRESENT CRISIS."
IT BEHOOVES NO ONE, MACALUSO SAID, "TO OPEN UP AN
IDEOLOGICAL DISPUTE."

5. THE PCI CLEARLY WISHES TO AVOID AN IDEOLOGICAL
DISPUTE WITH THE DC. SPEAKING TO A MEETING IN ROME
ON AUGUST 30 OF THE PCI'S 135 REGIONAL AND PROVINCIAL
PARTY SECRETARIES, ORGANIZATIONAL SECERETARY CERVETTI
DID NOT RESPOND DIRECTLY TO GALLONI AND CONCENTRATED
ON THE NEED TO MOBILIZE ALL LEVELS OF THE PARTY "TO
OVERCOME CONSERVATIVE RESISTANCE TO THE COMMITMENTS
CONTAINED IN THE PROGRAM ACCORD." THE ACCORD MAY NOT
HAVE BEEN "A HISTORIC SHIFT," CERVETTI SAID, BUT
IT WAS NONETHELESS "IMPORTANT" SINCE IT "OVETURNED
A NEGATIVE, DISCRIMINATORY POSTURE TOWARD THE PCI
THAT HAD LASTED FOR THIRTY YEARS." CERVETTI IDENTIFIED
THREE TENDENCIES IN THE DC. THESE WERE 1) THOSE
WHO WERE OPENLY ANTOGONISTIC TO THE ACCORD; 2) THOSE
WHO CLAIM TO SUPPORT THE ACCORD BUT SEEK TO DIMINISH
ITS POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE AND VALUE (SUCH AS THE DC
SECRETARIAT AND GALLONI); AND 3) THOSE WHO FAVOR THE
ACCORD BUT WHO THINK IT CAN BE KEPT "IN LIMBO",
IMMUNE FROM WHAT GOES ON IN THE COUNTRY. CERVETTI
TERMED THE PSI'S ATTITUDE GENERALLY FAVORABLE, THE PSDI'S
"CONTRADICTION", AND THE PRI "OFTEN INCOHERENT" AS
A RESULT OF ITS PROCCUPATION WITH BEING THE "CRITICAL
CONSCIENCE" OF POLITICAL LIFE.

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6. COMMENT: GALLONI'S ATTACK ON THE PCI WAS UNUSUAL
FOR ITS IDEOLOGICAL FOCUS AND COMBATIVENESS, PARTICULARLY
COMING FROM A LEADER WHO HAS A REPUTATION WITHIN THE
DC FOR FAVORING GREATER ACCOMMODATION WITH THE PCI.
WHILE GALLONI MAY HAVE WISHED TO REDRESS HIS IMAGE
TO REFLECT THE DC'S CURRENT, HARDER LINE, THE
DISCUSSIONS ARTICLE AND SUBSEQUENT TREATMENT IN POPOLO
CLEARLY REFLECT THE VIEWS OF THE MORO-ZACCAGNINI

SECRETARIAT, AND NOT GALLONI ALONE. IN LESS POLEMICAL TERMS, ZACCAGNINI HIMSELF ADOPTED A HARDER LINE IN REBUTTING "DISTORTED" PCI INTERPRETATIONS OF THE PROGRAM ACCORD IN HIS EARLY AUGUST POLICY STATEMENT (ROME 12872). ALTHOUGH GALLONI AND OTHER DC LEADERS CONTINUE TO SUPPORT THE PROGRAM ACCORD, IT SEEMS LIKELY THAT THE ATTACK SIGNALS THE BEGINNING OF A MORE COMBATIVE STANCE TOWARD THE PCI IN PREPARATION FOR THIS NOVEMBER'S IMPORTANT ADMINISTRATIVE ELECTIONS. GALLONI'S POSITION HAS BEEN ECHOED BY OTHER DC LEADERS SUCH AS GASPARI AND PICCOLI. THE DC'S UNCOMPROMISING LINE WILL MAKE IT MORE DIFFICULT FOR THE PCI TO CONVINCE ITS BASE AND ELCTORATE THAT THE PROGRAM ACCORD IS THE "FIRST STEP" TOWARD FULL PCI PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENT. THE PCI HAS THEREFORE SOUGHT TO AVOID AN IDEOLOGICAL CONFRONTATION. WHILE THE PCI'S UNWILLINGNESS TO DISCUSS IDEOLOGY IS UNDOUBTEDLY GOOD POLITICS, THE PCI'S RETICENT RESPONSE HAS ALSO RAISED QUESTIONS. PSDI CHAMBER PRESIDENT PRETI WAS NOT ALONE IN CALLING ON THE PCI "TO SAY WHAT KIND OF SOCIALISM THEY WANT, PARTICULARLY SINCE THE ONLY OTHER EXPERIENCE WE HAVE IS THE SOVIET MODEL."GARDNER

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Message Attributes

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Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
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TAGS: PINT, PGOV, IT, PCI, DC
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